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VOL. IX.—NO. 9.

FICTION AND FACT.

Official Count of S. L. P. Vote in Bridgeport Contrasted with Newspaper Figures.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., May 20.—We are now at last able to give a somewhat correct account of our vote in the last election (April 3). Our men waited for the straight tickets to be counted and then reported the scratched vote to be reported in the papers. The papers gave us an average of 230, with 210 for Mayor. We had, on our own men's report 226. We began to feel that all was not well, especially as we knew for a fact that Comrade Haigh, for Alderman, had received a large vote. We inquired and got no satisfaction, so the Executive Committee was ordered to find out what was the official vote and see if the papers lied. Meanwhile a recount took place for the office of Tax Collector, and it was shown that NOT A SINGLE DISTRICT WAS CORRECTLY COUNTED.

It was then reported that the Town Clerk refused to let us have the official figures, saying that only a lawyer could get them. A comrade was ordered to proceed and get the vote, even if it became necessary to engage a lawyer. The comrade, however, obtained the vote through a man who saw the mean moves made to keep us without the information that we had a right to.

The below list presents a contrast between Fiction and Facts that should make us all pause:

VOTE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

As given by papers.	Official count now.
Mayor:	
210 JOHN H. BAUDRY.	213
City Clerk:	
220 ALEXANDER McDONALD.	243
Treasurer:	
222 HENRY J. MATHERN.	236
Collector:	
217 OSCAR HUMMEL.	287
Sheriffs:	
225 CONRAD W. NIELSEN.	401
JOHN TYER.	400
230 CHARLES E. WINDOVEL.	338
232 HENRY H. HARRIS.	362
Aldermen:	
245 GEORGE HAIGH.	1,016
227 MAX SCHWAR.	411
228 DENNIS BARKWICK.	380
229 ALBERT SCHMIDLIN.	382
228 SAMUEL WALKER.	443
230 FREDERICK KLATT.	442
232 DANIEL CAHILL.	400
232 THOMAS N. HOLDSWORTH.	408
231 NOAH ROLLINSON.	472
232 ALFRED F. MOFFATT.	403
Town Clerk:	
24 JOHN WARMUTH.	348
Public Weigher:	
228 JOHN STAINES.	492
Selectmen:	
220 SAMUEL MUGATROYD.	402
221 A. HERMAN GENNETT.	402
223 AUGUST WINKLER.	402
Board of Education:	
234 WILLIAM MEDCALF.	407
234 EDWARD CRONAN.	488

We asked the papers to publish the vote as it is. One flatly refused; another wanted five dollars. We shall reserve the right to publish it ourselves—with a few remarks—later on.

C. J. MERCER.

THE "GLASGOW PLAN".

The statement has very often been made by "Municipal Reformers" and others that under municipalization à la Glasgow the condition of the people would be bettered. As an evidence they claim that in Glasgow no taxes are paid, that the tramways make enough surplus to pay all the city's running expenses, etc., etc.

The falseness of these statements are easily proven by an examination of "The Glasgow Municipal Records," issued by the City of Glasgow for the years 1894, '95, '96 and '97.

From such examination it appears that taxes are not only paid in Glasgow but that taxes are actually higher in 1897 than they were in 1895. Not only is the condition of the people not bettered but, on the contrary, poverty and insanity are on the increase—despite the "plan." Thus even the false cry of taxation turns out to be doubly false in Glasgow.

The Tramways Committee of Glasgow presented the following report for the year ending June 18, 1897:

Amount of traffic receipts.....	£365,751 3 10
Other receipts.....	5,121 0 6
Total.....	£370,872 4 4
Amount of working expenses.....	286,280 1 3
Leaving a balance of.....	£84,592 3 1
Disposed of as under:	
Rent of Govan and Ibrox tramways.....	£2,445 14 6
Interest on Capital.....	15,834 14 9
Rinking fund.....	19,805 10 2
Payment to common good in lieu of millage, etc.....	9,000 0 0
Permanent way renewal fund.....	15,000 0 0
Depreciation written off capital.....	15,513 2 8
General reserve fund.....	20,000 0 0

Not one penny. It will thus be seen, went to lower taxes.

The further fact is brought out that taxes are being levied in Glasgow and that an increase of taxation instead of a decrease is a reality, by the following:

Assessments imposed by the Magistrates and Council for year ending May 31:

1896.....	£53,222 7 1
For year ending May 31, 1897.....	60,202 12 6

The Parish Councils of Glasgow,

Govan and Barony (City of Glasgow) expended for care of the poor during year ending:

May 15, 1896.....£184,378 12 3

Year ending May 15, 1897.....192,401 12 10

This amount of money was raised by a "rate," or tax, imposed by said Parish Councils not included in the assessments of the Magistrates and Council. The estimate for 1898 increased the amount necessary for poor maintenance about £10,000 over that of 1897.

The increase of insanity during the year 1896-97 compelled the General Board of Lunacy to give utterance to the following doleful statement:

"The sum which the General Board of Lunacy declares necessary to be raised for the City District Board in the current year, 1897-98, is £16,962, against £10,850 in last year—equal to 56 per cent. of an increase.

"The rate (of taxation) to be imposed within the City Parish must therefore be advanced to 3 1/2 pence, being an increase of a penny farthing per pound."

"Municipalization" in Glasgow is evidently a striking illustration of how easy it is for a capitalist municipal government NOT to better the condition of the people.

From these few facts the working class can understand that, if under "municipal ownership" poverty and insanity increase, year by year, such "municipal ownership" can be of absolutely no value to our class.

These facts prove conclusively that it is not a question of "municipal ownership" which concerns the working class, but rather, who shall own the municipality?

The municipality being owned by the working class they can use it to PREVENT an increase of poverty and misery, thereby preventing an increase of insanity; the municipality being owned by the capitalist class, as Glasgow is owned, that class being a labor-skinning class, they will use it to further skin the workers and thus increase poverty and insanity.

The working class must own the municipality then, and only then can it use it for itself. The only way the working class can get the ownership of any and every municipality is by voting as a class for its class. It can not get such ownership by listening to the lying statements of the fakir and the fool; it must vote in the platform and candidates of the Socialist Labor Party and vote out the platforms and candidates of the capitalists and their crooked bunco steersmen, the "municipal ownership" crew.

ARTHUR KEEP.

A correspondence, found elsewhere in this issue, reports the healthy shaking up that Section Hudson County, N. J., has just given the boodling waiters of a Walters "Union" of that place. An incident, not mentioned in the correspondence, deserves to be referred to.

In the course of the discussion which took place in the Hudson County Central Labor Federation, upon the motion of the Section that the Walters' Union in question be suspended, the following passage at arms occurred:

Delegate of the Union—"Our Union is a good Socialist Union. We have done good work for the S. L. P. We have marched in its parade."

Committeeman of the S. L. P.—"You marched with us. What good was that? We had 600 men in line and polled only 200 votes. That comes of such people as you marching with us. People will say either those were all bona fide Socialists, but they are a lot of foreigners without a vote; or they will say that we sell out on election day."

The time has come to put an end to the lip-service style of Socialism—the men who imagine they can buy the Party's good will by a few acts of show and thereby secure immunity for their corruption.

The hard-worked drug clerks of New York are just now being worked by two elements, either of which is more despicable than the other.

One set of the drug clerks has been played upon by the labor fakir element, and made believe that by paying dues and allowing themselves to be otherwise bled, they could secure by legislation a shorter work day.

An other set of drug clerks is hastening to attach their signatures to a declaration that they resent any interference by the Legislature, seeing they can themselves attend to the question of hours of work. The way the thing is worked is this: the declaration is unrolled before the drug clerk, his employer standing near by; the drug clerk is told that he is under no obligation to sign, and is then invited to sign. The unhappy drug clerk, knowing that he will be fired if he does not sign, promptly signs. For every signature the collector of such "free" signatures gets a certain fee.

Query: Which of the two sets of clerks is more to be pitied, the set worked by the fakir, or the set worked by the Signature Collecting Agency?

Remit by money-order, registered letter, check or, when the amount is small, by two or one-cent stamps. Do not send cash in ordinary letters! Why run any risks?

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RUSKIN COLONY'S COLLAPSE.

The Rise and Downfall of the Latest Utopian Scheme.

COLONISTS APPEALING FOR FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS.

Recent Events at Ruskin—Receiver Applied for and Lands to be Sold—Deveopment of the Colony Idea in General—Birth of Ruskin—Wayland Starts It, and then Makes His Pile Out of It—Disreputable Policy of the "Coming Nation"—Attempts of Stockholders to Veneer the Condition of the Colony—The Founders Now Admit that Ruskin Was Never Intended to be a "Socialistic" Community—Rascality of the Whole Scheme Proven—Colonization Versus Socialism.

The Ruskin Co-operative Association, at Ruskin, Tenn., commonly known as the "Ruskin Colony," is about to collapse.

Its lands and houses are to be sold, and the hundred or so colonists still on the site of the colony are appealing to the utopians of the country for FIFTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS to tide them over the "crisis."

During the last three years THE PEOPLE has suggested once or twice that the Ruskin Colony was rotten financially. The reply of the "Coming Nation," the organ of the colony, has uniformly been that THE PEOPLE had but little regard for the truth, and that the colony was on the highest wave of prosperity. Of late these boasts of solvency have been louder than ever and in larger type than ever, proceeding probably from an analogy with the decay of vitality in the human body. It often happens that just before dissolution a man will secure a sudden access of strength which by the unskilled is taken as a symptom of returning life, but which to the experienced eye of the physician is naught but the premonition of the death rattle.

Thus with the Ruskin Colony. Three weeks ago, boasting in strident tones of its absolute solvency and prosperity; and while the words were flowing from the pen of the editor, legal proceedings for the sale of the property and winding up the affairs of the colony were being executed.

COLONIES IN GENERAL.

Should the Socialist keep a record of all the failures of schemes developed ostensibly "to rescue society from the ravenous maw of the capitalist system of production," the clerical labor required would take most of his time; and usually it would be time thrown away. Occasionally, however, a scheme collapses which from the very importance that has been claimed for it by its adherents, as well as the importance it has assumed in many other minds, demands obsequies of a more formal character than such fiascoes usually merit. And Ruskin Colony, claimed by its promoters to be "Socialism in practice," is one of these schemes.

Four hundred years ago there lived in England a man named Thomas More. At that time (the forepart of the sixteenth century) poverty and misery were prolific in England, as elsewhere in Europe. More's emotions were sensitive enough to be easily stirred, and his sympathies were quick enough to be easily roused. He saw the misery and the poverty and the degradation on every hand, and he may have seen the causes; but he realized his powerlessness to work any great revolution in society; and then, like all emotionalists, he took refuge in his imagination and proceeded to construct societies and governments in his mind. He was acquainted with the paradise of which St. John of Bible lore had dreamed, (which paradise is generally called "heaven") and proceeded to dream a dream himself—with modifications.

St. John located his paradise off among the stars somewhere. More located his on earth. Rather than let his imagination course through ether and at last light on a planet, as did the imagination of the Apostle, More took a voyage across boundless seas to South America, and there in the tropics, far inland, he discovers a peculiar people, who inhabit a peculiar land called Utopia.

The political and social evils of sixteenth century England—and those evils were many—were all absent from the Utopians. The social life of the Utopians was molded after a rude form of communism, under which food, clothing, and shelter were produced in abundance for all, and where there was such an absence of vice and such a presence of virtue, such an absence of political inequality and such a presence of political equality, that ever since then the adjective "utopian" has been used to designate the visionary and the impracticable.

Utopia was simply an idea of More's—an ideal of More's—a community that lived, moved, and had its being within the confines of More's cerebrum and cerebellum.

Since the sixteenth century other men with easily moved sympathies and vivid imaginations have seen political and social injustice, and, like More, have set their imaginations to work to IMAGINE a State in which political and social injustice would be absent; and with all of them, from More down to Bellamy, the policy advocated has been that of withdrawing from the society where this injustice reigns, going to an isolated portion of the earth, and there, with nature as raw material, build a new and model society.

The limits of this article will not permit the tracing of the development of

this idea, but it undoubtedly secured its inspiration from the monastic orders of the Middle Ages, whose members, discovering that they could not practice their peculiar morals in society as it then existed, withdrew from society, and in mountain fastness and desert waste established colonies of hermits, where, remote from even the possibility of worldly temptation, they could live their whimsical lives, practice their whimsical rites, and leave the world without to hammer its way along the rough and winding road of progress as best it might. The analogy between the monastery and the co-operative colony should not, however, be carried further. In most instances the hermits succeeded in leading the kind of a life they set out to lead; with the co-operative colony the reverse is true.

For more than a hundred years the colony scheme, in its various forms, has been the heaven of the utopian. In the first years of the century Rapp and his band of devotees established Harmony Colony in Pennsylvania. It was about to lapse when Owen appeared, cleared up the debris, and started it over again as New Harmony Colony, and that ultimately went to the wall. Then Fourier elaborated imaginary details, and inspired thousands to enter on abortive attempts to live one form of society inside another form of social organization, and his phalanx and phalanstery cropped up in hundreds of little communities, of which Brook Farm was a type. Cabot followed with another ready-made suit for society to put on, and Leasia was born to lead a perilous career. And in later years have come the Bellamyites to retire into the wilderness and there reform the industrial order.

THE RUSKIN COLONY—ITS GENESIS AND HISTORY.

And this brings us to Ruskin, which is the latest effort at colonization.

The idea of Ruskin was first revealed to A. J. Wayland, at the present time the owner and editor of "The Appeal to Reason," an alleged Socialist paper, which he publishes in a little country town in Kansas called Girard.

In April, 1893, Wayland published the first number of the "Coming Nation" at Greensburg, Indiana. Populism was then at its height, and the paper became in time the mouthpiece for the misguided who thought they saw in Populism, with its absurd middle class demands, a short cut to the Co-operative Commonwealth. Wayland was familiar with the history of Fourierism through Cabetism to Bellamyism. He was also acquainted with history of the failure of colonization in all its forms. A knowledge of these failures, however, did not deter him from attempting to plough the field all over again and harrow it with a Wayland harrow.

Wayland's scheme was a fertile one, and appeared like this. Wayland owns the "Coming Nation." You enthusiasts increase the circulation to 100,000 a year. That will leave a surplus of \$27,000 a year. This money will be Wayland's, but Wayland will be a philanthropist and use it to purchase 3,000 acres of land as a basis for the colony. Charter members were to be those who sent in two hundred subscribers or paid an equivalent in money. In return, Wayland was to throw in all he had—type, press, subscription list, even Wayland himself. The whole "Coming Nation," editor and all, was to go into the pool and serve as a nucleus around which to build the co-operative commonwealth in the midst of a capitalist nation.

In the spring of 1894 a good deal of money was on hand through the efforts of the enthusiasts, and Wayland was on the lookout for a site. In Chicago there was a land company, and that land company owned a tract of land in Tennessee. It was three miles from the railway station at Tennessee City. It consisted of barren rocky hills, absolutely unfit for cultivation or habitation, having neither fertile soil nor living water. Yet the land company sold one thousand acres of it to Wayland for one thousand dollars, and in the spring of 1894 the "Coming Nation" issued a call for the martyrs. The fugitives from capitalism began to appear at Tennessee City, and in August nineteen men applied for a charter and became charter members of the "Ruskin Co-operative Association." The charter was a rather voluminous document, the principal clause stipulating that membership in the colony could only be had by the payment of \$500. They worked on their barren land, cut railway ties from their timber, and starved on the income from the "Coming Nation" until July, 1895, when a crisis was reached, or, rather the culmination of a crisis, for the colony had been in a crisis ever since Wayland made the deal with the Chi-

cago land company. The crisis came about in the following manner. One of the agreements made by Wayland was that he would contribute the plant of the "Coming Nation," which he valued at \$12,000. He postponed, however, the legal surrender of the plant from time to time and seemed so loth to do things in a business manner that there grew up a suspicion that Wayland was looking out for Wayland and did not intend to surrender the plant. In July a demand was made on him for the printing outfit, and he flatly refused to keep his promise. He demanded cash for his plant, and he got it. The printed reports of the colony do not tell how much cash he got. The only suggestion relative thereto is to be found in the statement that in October, 1894, they were free from debt and had a balance on hand, while in July, 1895, after Wayland had been bought out and kicked out, the colony was without money and three thousand dollars in debt.

Wayland, gone, the barrenness of Wayland's site was more apparent than ever. The colonists had to get fertile land or starve, (as matters have turned out they have nearly starved anyway,) and in June, 1897, they deserted the original site and ran in debt for six hundred acres of fertile land a few miles from Wayland's purchase. On this six hundred acres of unpaid-for land the colony is now located, and when in a few days the hammer of the auctioneer knocks down their property to the highest bidder they will have been taught the lesson, rude though the teaching may be, that the time for hermitizing is gone, and that the ballot box is the place and the ballot the machine for revolutionizing society and ushering in the Co-operative Commonwealth.

FROM STRESS TO CHICANERY.

Years ago Socialists demonstrated that material necessity is the motive power of human action. That is to say, that the stomach and other organs of the body are the main springs to action. The application of this reasoning to the history of Ruskin leads one to sentiments of pity mingled with those of anger for the misguided enthusiasts and promoters who have fought a losing battle in the woods of Tennessee—pity for the enthusiasts' anger for the promoters who have preyed on the credulity of the "reformers."

The necessity for getting a living was what led them to Ruskin, and the continued necessity of getting a living was what led them into a great deal of the evident chicanery practiced. Their paper, the "Coming Nation," heralded itself a Socialist paper, while its columns have ever been open to the most sickening anti-Socialist rot that has ever degraded any paper of its class. In many instances it has been worse than the "Appeal to Reason." Any one of its subscribers was permitted to express himself in its columns, and even to-day, with the fallacy of the free silver policy and the fallacy of the anti-bank power policy thoroughly exploded, it is not unusual to see the organ of Ruskin Colony devote columns of space to Populist drabble, descriptive of the oppression resulting from the "banks," the "money power," and the "gold standard."

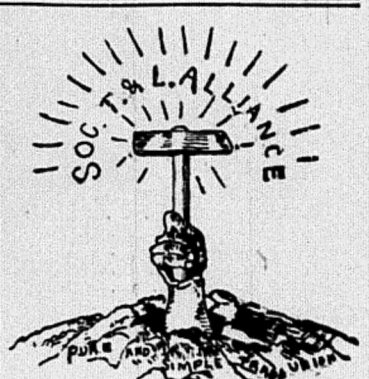
It is quite likely, however, that this course has been something of an economic necessity. The principal source of the colony's income has been the "Coming Nation." Therefore every attempt has been made to increase its circulation. But the time was not ripe for a large circulation of a paper teaching clear-cut Socialism; hence to get a large circulation they were compelled to publish a lot of middle class delusion, Populist fallacy, and colonization dreamlets. The paper was the last resort for every economic freak that capitalism has produced; and it had to accept the dissertations of the freaks or go out of the newspaper business, which it was loth to do, for going out of the newspaper business meant going out of the colony business. And so the farce was kept up.

Having a fairly good printing plant, they naturally desired to get all they could out of it, and branched out into the publishing business. They began the publication of a "Telegrapher's Advocate," which was to get the telegraphers imbibed with the colony idea. But after a few issues the "Advocate" discontinued. Then St. Louis "Labor" was having a hard row to hoe, and Sanderson persuaded the Ruskinites to take hold of it and use for its columns matter that had previously been served up to the subscribers of the "Coming Nation." Wherever the Socialist Labor Party had a thriving organization, there "Labor" was sent by the thousands with its half-baked Socialism and its milk and water tactics. It was going to broaden the movement. But "Labor" soon suspended.

Then the colony began to manufacture a few small commodities such as leather suspenders, leather belts, chewing gum, and cereal coffee, raised flower seeds and bulbs, enlarged photographs, and attempted to make a few honest pennies in various other ways. They relied on the "co-operation" of their friends to secure a market for their products. This co-operation was necessary because as a general thing their tools were crude, and consequently their products were inferior to those produced by the more modern machinery of capitalist production; but the co-operation was not sufficient to enlarge materially the business of the colony.

Early in 1897 the "Coming Nation" was black with headlines describing the "Ruskin College of the New Economy," which was to be built for the purpose of giving "Socialist education" to the youth of the land. Every Utopian in the country was appealed to for contributions. Pictures were print-

(Continued on page 3.)



To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

Comrades:—On the 4th of April last the weavers employed by the Slater Mills Corporation in Slattersville went out on strike for an increase in wages. Among the strikers were a number of experienced comrades, who in short order had them organized into a solid S. T. & L. A. After a four weeks' struggle, conducted in a remarkably intelligent manner, a compromise was reached. The men went back under an agreement to increase wages, recognize the Alliance and not to discriminate against any of the strikers. But capitalist promises, like capitalist honor, are froth, and mean nothing.

No sooner had the men returned than steps were immediately taken to crush the revolutionary spirit that had manifested itself with such vigor, and to the cost of the capitalists. The boldest comrades were singled out for destruction. Five men were discharged in succession some without giving reasons and others were brutally told to "get out" because they were "Socialist disturbers."

The object was plain. These men had been untiring in Socialist propaganda and had rolled up a vote of 27 per cent. in their town for the S. T. & L. A. Section had just been formed, and the real purpose was to stamp out the Socialist spirit in North Smithfield. The corporation owned all the tenements and in putting comrades out of the factory, they would compel them to leave the town, and thus give a free reign to the bunco parties of capital. The comrades remaining would be sent after the others or frightened from all activity. Moreover the employers and the objects of their frequent and fervent personal praise—the fakirs and their pure and simple unions—would proclaim broadcast the impotency and utter failure of the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. to protect wage workers from brutal persecution.

As a result of this, the Slattersville comrades have again gone on strike, fully conscious that their masters were aiming to destroy the Socialist Movement in their town. There's a desperate struggle of Socialist against reactionary forces. The comrades involved are in extreme poverty, without means, refused credit at the store, and in momentary risk of being evicted from the corporation tenements and driven from the town. They merit and should have the support of every Socialist in the land.

Comrades, this is our struggle. Our principles are at issue, and the efficiency of the Socialist and New Trade Unionist Movement is at stake.

The Textile workers of Rhode Island are rallying to the S. T. & L. A. This is practically its first battle with the opposing forces in this State. The lines are sharply and clearly drawn. Now is the time to show what we are made of, and what the S. T. & L. A. backed by the S. L. P. can accomplish for class-conscious workmen. The Alliances and Sections in Rhode Island have organized to support their striking brethren. The recent epidemic of strikes in our State has almost impoverished us. We need and must have the help of comrades all over the country. Contributions should be made without delay.

RHODE ISLAND D. A., S. T. & L. A. STATE COMMITTEE, S. L. P. Send remittances to the Treasurer, P. CURRAN, 64 Hanover street, Providence, R. I.

An other curiosity that has floated into this office during the week is a broad-paged "Suggestion" from Potterville, Cal., and signed "A Hayseed." Its purpose is to suggest how the people of this country may get their own in 1900. The means to this desirable end is that wagons be fitted out in every State with Kenoscopes and Phonographic effects. "Kenoscope" to represent Comrades Debs, De Leon, Harriman, Benham, Casson, Mayor Jones and other first-class speakers delivering their best speeches." Us seems that if the people of this country were to be deluged with speeches from such contradictory sources, they, in 1900, they would be either ready for the lunatic asylum—or for absorbence by the Demo-Republican party.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

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THE PEOPLE.

Published at 154 William Street, New York
— EVERY SUNDAY —

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Lawfully in advance:

One year \$2.00
Six months 1.25
Single copies 5c

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office on April 4, 1891.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) 2,068
In 1890 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157
In 1894 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) 36,564
In 1898 82,204

How good one feels when one is full—how satisfied with ourselves and with the world! People who have tried it tell me that a clear conscience makes you very happy and contented; but a full stomach does the business quite as well. One feels so forgiving and generous after a substantial and well-digested meal—so noble-minded, so kindly-hearted.

JEROME K. JEROME.

THE VOICE OF VIRGINIA'S STATE COMMITTEE.

MANCHESTER, Va., May 21.—At a meeting of the State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party in Virginia, held to-day, the following resolutions were reported as having been adopted by Section Richmond, which requested that same be adopted by the State Committee, and this having been done, I am instructed to forward a copy of the resolutions for publication in THE PEOPLE:

"WHEREAS, The Socialist Labor Party is the accredited wing of the International Socialist Movement in the United States, and is charged with the most sacred responsibility that can be assumed by or conferred upon any organization—viz., the emancipation of the proletariat from wage slavery by the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth as a substitute for the anarchical system of production and distribution which exists to-day; and

"WHEREAS, The accomplishment of this great undertaking depends entirely upon the Socialist Labor Party being kept in the straight, uncompromising course which has marked its history, and to which its present strength and influence are solely attributable; and

"WHEREAS, We regard the tactics that are being pursued by our Party as constituting the only guarantee that the S. L. P. will not be retarded in its growth, if not brought to the verge of destruction, through taking up the middle class' burden of tax-reform, municipalization, la Glasgow, etc., etc.; and

"WHEREAS, The dangers accruing to the S. L. P. from this source are likely to increase in future, owing to the fact that our movement is beginning to be understood by capitalism as its sworn enemy with whom a reckoning must soon be made, and therefore the capitalist class will adopt any scheme in order to weaken or annihilate the political organization of a class-conscious proletariat; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, First, that for the reasons above cited the State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party in Virginia hereby expresses its hearty approval of the course pursued by the National Executive Committee and by the Editors of our national organs in calling a halt on the vacillating and treasonable policy of the 'Volkszeitung,' and in refuting the false economics taught in that paper.

"RESOLVED, Second, that we favor a plan whereby the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association and its work shall be subordinated to the principles and tactics of the Party which brought it into existence, and to whom it should be made responsible for all its acts. Failing in the accomplishment of this, we advocate that immediate steps be taken by the Party through its National Executive Committee to divorce itself from all connection, direct or indirect, with the said Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association, and to bring the publication of our national organs under the immediate supervision of the Party.

"RESOLVED, Third, that we take this occasion to express our appreciation of the vigilance, ability, and uncompromising faithfulness to Socialist principle, of our National Executive Committee, and of the Editors of THE PEOPLE and the 'Vorwaerts,' both of which papers are an honor to the cause they so capably represent."

By order of the Virginia State Committee,

ALEX. B. McCULLOCH,

State Secretary.

"The Lana Strike Settled" is the news of the day. Now get ready to hear of some fresh outrage.

IT MOVES AND SPREADS.

Three incidents have recently occurred, within a few days of one another, that certainly are significant for the Labor World. Any one of them would be significant enough; the three combined and crowding together tell an intensifying interesting tale, denoting the strong pulsations of the Socialist Labor Party and its spread, together with the accompanying manifestations of such development. The three incidents are strung across the country.

The first is in Roanoke, Va. The S. L. P. of the place, being in the midst of a municipal campaign, spreading literature, agitating, thereby dispelling the darkness of ignorance, and accordingly, threatening the comfort of the owls, the capitalists and the Labor Fakirs reached each other the band. A "Central Trade & Labor Council" of the place, an organization that had hitherto violently opposed "politics in Unions," comes forward with a "Labor" ticket. Its programme reads like the programme of tax-paying saloon-keepers and small traders generally; aided by Democratic corruption funds, these gentlemen are intent upon no purpose other than creating confusion, split up the workingman's vote, thereby discouraging, if possible, further Socialist agitation, and insuring Democratic capitalist supremacy. The corrupt purpose, being transparent, the immediate effect of the performance is to help bury pure and simplicity; to help recommending the S. L. P.

The second is almost similar but upon somewhat different lines. It is in Cleveland, O. The Central Labor Union of that city is a good deal further developed than the corresponding body in Roanoke. In the latter the Labor Fakir still dominates, the class-conscious element being in the minority; in the former it is the reverse; there the class-conscious element is dominant. From the ranks of these a resolution was presented on the performances of Gen. Merriam in the Cœur d'Alene, and it explicitly pointed out the urgency of Labor's marshaling itself under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party. The resolution was adopted. This dose seems to have been the hardest yet administered to the political and labor fakir minority in the body; it seems to have brought home to them, more than anything before, that the fakir's row to hoe is fast becoming rougher. The result of all of which seems to be a split in the near future—one of those splits that denotes internal growth; one of those splits that to the Labor Movement is what the "split" of a milk-tooth is when it is shoved out or broken off by the oncoming strong and permanent tooth of man.

The third took place in Salt Lake City at the convention of the Western Federation of Miners. There the Committee on Resolutions presented over their signatures the following resolution WHICH WAS ADOPTED:

We believe that the only means of counteracting the evil effects of that gigantic development of modern civilization—the trusts—is the education of the people along the lines of Socialism, that they may be enabled to understand that instead of being a curse, it can be changed to a blessing by simply changing the ownership from private to collective.

Finally, we recommend that some action be taken whereby all the working people of the West can be brought to a realization of the necessity of united action at the polls, as the surest and speediest method to redress all our grievances. In our opinion the surest means of attaining this object is through the adoption and support in its entirety of the platform of the Socialist Labor Party. Respectfully submitted,

D. P. HENDRICKS,

T. J. SULLIVAN,

E. A. CRELL,

JAMES LEMON,

THOMAS PATEN.

Thus, beginning in Roanoke, where the S. L. P. is driving the crooks to show their colors; proceeding over Cleveland, where the S. L. P. has ripened further and is snuffing off the crooks; we finally reach Salt Lake City where at a trades convention of no less importance a trade than the Western miners' the S. L. P. is fully endorsed, accepted and recommended to the working class.

In next week's issue the details of the Roanoke and Cleveland incidents will be published. Let this rapid review of the three events suffice for today.

The future belongs to the true.

There reached this office a neat four-leaf pamphlet, that, despite its neat, white appearance, may be the harbinger of bloody feasts to come. It is an "Appeal to the Dominican People," the people of the island of San Domingo, located between Cuba and Puerto Rico, to "die or be free." The appeal purports to be written by a patriot who tells blood-curdling stories about the present President of the Dominican Republic.

That the "President" in question is none too good to be incapable of the acts imputed to him is a very likely thing. Nevertheless, just such "patriotic manifestos" as the one before us are the kinds of things that "War Syndicates" of capitalists are wont to get up when they have designs on foreign territory. So it began with Cuba.

Barely has the stench of the Seelye Dinner subsided, and the feats of the "moral," "family upholding" Horacio R. Harper among the precious lot of Socialist haters begun to be forgotten, when the "family upholding" spirit of

capitalism made an exhibition of itself in the adulterous Belmont-Sloane affair; and hardly is this event sinking below the horizon when a new one comes in to supplant both. It now turns out that Mr. Thomas J. Havemeyer did not die "in the arms of his family" at his own home, but rather unorthodoxly in the house of some other woman with whom that "pillar of society" had been living for some time.

Did our American delegates approve, by commission or by omission, of the following telegram sent by the Peace Conference to the Czar of Russia?

The Peace Conference lays at the feet of your Majesty its respectful congratulations upon the occasion of your birthday, and expresses its sincere desire to co-operate in the great and noble work in which your Majesty has taken a generous initiative, and for which it begs you to accept its humble and profound gratitude.

Probably, certainly. Surely it is not the American people these worthies represent. The American people are not ready to so abuse themselves. It is the American capitalist, with his helms for sale, that went down at the feet of the Czar.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The Bremen, Germany, "Bürgerzeitung," writing on the May Day holiday says:

Not only does the capitalist class use all the industrial means of capital to force the working class into submission, but it also wields its political power, with the aid of legislation, to create a jurisdiction which prevents the workers to use the only powerful weapon wherewith to achieve victory, namely ORGANIZATION.

But wherever workingmen, in spite of all oppression and intimidation, have united, true to one another, and have arrayed their organized forces against the power of capital, wherever they have stopped the wheels of industry to enforce their just demands, then in France as well as in England, in Austria as well as in "free" America, firearms have spoken in favor of the exploited, in the interest of humane law and order, and if we, in Germany thus far, have been spared such conflicts, it is solely due to the prudent and wise conduct of the German working class educated under the banner of Socialism, who, although subjected to all manner of petty and malicious persecutions during the Bismarckian reign of terror, have never lost our presence of mind, our class-consciousness and above all our ultimate aim.

If the below from the "Boot and Shoes Weekly," a capitalist organ, means anything it means a notice to the pure and simple labor leaders that their days are counted, the bosses no longer needing them to help keep down the workers:

There is an old saying to the effect that the worm which has been tormented for an indefinite period will sometimes turn upon its tormentors. The worm turned in Chicago quite recently when the daily newspapers closed up their offices and did not print a paper for several days rather than submit to the extortionate demands of the Stereotypers' Union. The result was what might have been expected—the defeat of the union. The union stereotypers did not believe that the daily newspapers of Chicago would dare suspend publication rather than submit to their demands. But the worm had reached a point where it could stand it no longer, and the result was disastrous to the union.

The lesson of this strike and its result may well be taken to heart by members of all unions everywhere, but probably it will have little effect. Each particular union or organization of men insists upon knowing themselves how it feels to strike and get beaten.

Clear the way for the Alliance!

This is interesting! This week's "Vorwaerts," the Party's national organ in Germany, has the following editorial notice at the head of its editorial columns:

AS TO THE SO-CALLED "SUPPLEMENT TO NO. 21 OF 'VORWAERTS.'"

Let our readers take notice that the "Supplement to No. 21 of the 'Vorwaerts,'" issued by the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," is not a supplement to the "Vorwaerts," but a separate publication. It is edited by the undersigned under control of the National Executive Committee of the S. L. P. The said "Supplement" has been gotten up without the knowledge and consent of the National Executive Committee or the Editor.

HUGO VOGT,
Editor of the "Vorwaerts."

No comment is needed to the facts herein mentioned, except that they are a valuable contribution to the documents that will elucidate near at hand history.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is making itself felt in Pennsylvania in a manner that was not anticipated: Incipient strikes are prevented by prompt compromises on the part of the employers under the threat that, if they don't the men will join the Alliance. The threat works like magic.

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "What Means this Strike?" is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that some time ago ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 73 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student, even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 147 E. 23d street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SUMMING UP.

About three months ago a number of applications were coming to this office from the State of Washington, from towns in Ohio and from places in this State for the reproduction of the "Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan" dialogue on taxation that had appeared in these columns about a year previous. The reasons given for the request were almost identical: the "reformers," acting as advance clouds of dust for the approaching Democratic party storm, were raising the cry of "Taxation"; the people, it was claimed by these elements, were crushed by taxes, the removal of which would be "a step in the right direction," besides being a practical move. Our correspondents realized the insidiousness of such claims, and wished to brace up their neighborhoods against the folly.

Indeed, in the whole gamut of capitalist dodges to confuse the working class and capture its vote, there is none in this country so insidious, plausible and bamboozling as the cry of "Taxation." The circumstance that Labor produces all wealth, and consequently, is the sole supporter of the Nation, is used as correct premises and back ground for false conclusions. It is a case in which the jugglery of words is not readily detected. The "reform" and other capitalist political swindlers grant by implication the Socialist contention that Labor produces all wealth, wherupon they declare that Labor PAYS the taxes OUT OF ITS WAGES, and thence point to the immediate relief that Labor would derive from a reduction of the "burden" of taxes; the taxes being lower, it is claimed by these people, the workingman would have to pay so much less for what they need, and consequently would have so much more money left to buy things with. This Three-card Monte swindle forms, if not the ground work, yet the main stock in trade of the "Free trade," the "single tax," the "Good Government" movements. Against this insidious scheme of deception, the Party in this country has had to firmly put its face: the delusion was found to be a leading obstacle in the path of the propagandist in his work of educating the working class in class-consciousness. The false notion that the workingman could get instantaneous relief, not from a third, but from one of the Old parties, could not but act as a lure to draw them from the right course. Accordingly, the Party's literature teams with arguments against the fallacy: facts have been heaped upon facts, figures upon figures knocking down the underpinning of the sophistry; and in its platform declarations the Party crystallized the scientific principle that wages do not depend upon taxation, but upon the law of values as applied to Labor in the Labor market; that taxes are paid by the capitalist class out of that portion of the wealth which the workers produce but are robbed of in the shop anyhow; in short, that all the jabber about taxes was a capitalist issue. In response to the pressing demands for the said "Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan" making these points clear, it was reproduced on last March 5.

Two days later, March 7, the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" published a one-column leading editorial dead against the essential principles expressed in that "Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan." In that editorial attacking the principles stated by THE PEOPLE, the taxes were point blank declared to come from the wages of the working class, and the question of taxes was raised to one of importance to the working class, not only by reason of the preponderance of space devoted to it, but also and especially so by reason of the amazing statistics adduced—the 55th Congress was claimed to have imposed a burden of fifteen hundred million dollars a year upon the people, and this was figured out to mean \$100 a year taken out of the wages of the average workingman's family.

No theory can stand without facts; theories must fit facts, not facts theories—at least with people qualified to discuss a question. Indeed, a theory is nothing but a deduction from facts; only in the measure that the facts are true and sufficient, and that the deduction is logical from such facts is it or the theory sound.

If a ship is claimed to be staunch, the staunchness of the ship is a deduction, and, in so far a theory. The soundness or unsoundness of the theory depends wholly upon the fact whether the ship keeps out the water, or whether she does not. If she does, the theory is sound; if she does not, it is unsound. Accordingly, if to the claim that a ship is "staunch" objection is raised, the theoretical discussion about her staunchness becomes secondary; the theory of her staunchness may be sparred with incidentally, but only as a preliminary to the real question—the question of fact; if the objection is insisted on, then earnest men drop theorizing and consider facts only; only triflers or ill-intentioned people would bite themselves fast in a purely theoretic controversy. The real issue forthwith becomes one of fact—does the ship take in water or does she not?

The question of fact once turned to, it becomes a question of FACTS, that is, THINGS WORTH CONSIDERING, because only such facts can throw light on the theory of the ship's staunchness. Let, accordingly, the objector produce in substantiation of his claim a cup-ful of bilge water, and his "evidence" will be rejected. It is so trifling that it would not be even worth the while to inquire whether the cup-ful of bilge water that he produces is bona fide, or whether it is not a fraud; whether he really dipped it out of the vessel's hold, or whether he carried it into the vessel himself. "De minimis non curat lex" (the law does not bother about trifles) is a principle not of jurisprudence only, not of biology and sociology only, it is a principle of common sense and common decency in debate. The objector to the theory that a ship is staunch, and who would come up with his cup-ful of bilge water as proof, would be roundly hooted out of court. When, however, the objector claims that the ship lets in tons of ocean water, then does he make allegations of fact that entitle him to a hearing, but that, at the same time, throw

upon himself the duty of proving his allegations.

Applying these obvious principles to the controversy raised by the "Volkszeitung," what do we find?

The "Volkszeitung" knew or felt full well that if it joined issue with THE PEOPLE, and sought to prove that the workingmen DID pay the taxes out of their own wages, by claiming that, since the 55th Congress, the "collar" on the workingman's glass of beer had become larger; that the packages of tobacco had been slightly reduced; that the number of prizes inside of these packages had become fewer; that patent cough medicines now cost a cent more; etc., etc.—it knew or felt that if it adduced any such trifles as evidence it would be laughed at from the start and make no impression whatever. It felt that FACTS, and not trifles, were the essential basis for all theory, and accordingly it laid the foundation for its attack in the colossal figures of fifteen hundred million dollars of taxes, and in the detailed statement of \$100 taxes strapped on the back of the average workingman's family! This certainly was equivalent to saying that a ship, claimed to be staunch, was letting in tons of ocean water. Upon so stupendous a claim as that, no theory, but facts must have the floor. Yet it has been impossible to get the "Volkszeitung" down to that. After shortly refuting its theory with theoretic utterances of Marx and Engels, we questioned its facts and pointedly pronounced its figures juggled,—yet it dodged the issue and sought shelter in a cloud of irrelevant theoretical dust. We then pressed the point: gave condensed figures ourselves proving that the "Volkszeitung's" figures were false, the tax being less than one half what it claimed, and we proved that its facts were preposterous, that the tax laid on an article of consumption is not paid by the consumer unless the price rises, and that the price of the articles of workingman-consumption had notably not risen;—yet still it dodged the point. The Party's German organ, the "Vorwaerts," went into an elaborate examination of the figures, showing the scandalousness of the "Volkszeitung's" attitude,—but all of no avail: finding itself knocked out, the "Volkszeitung" has been burrowing deeper and deeper into and under abstractions, prevarications, and misquotations, and downright falsifications and trifles.

Summing up the discussion, this stands out unquestionably:

1. Upon a substructure of what it now knows to be false figures and false facts, taken bodily from some Democratic campaign document, and even preposterously inflated, the "Volkszeitung" published on March 7 an article the first two-thirds of which make direct agitation for the Democratic party; and, as a result, the last third of which makes direct agitation against the S. L. P.

2. In Germany, taxes often have a revolutionary effect. Not infrequently it happens that a tax on an article of consumption, beer or tobacco, is felt by the consumer the very next day in the increased price, and thereby produces veritable riots. We have been informed of instances where, in such cases, even the soldiers (German soldiers) are seen joining the rioters, pulling out their short swords, digging up the paving stones with them, and using these as missiles. In such a country the tax question has a tactical value. The editorial management of the "Volkszeitung" do not realize that they are not living in Germany. Dominated by alien habits of thought, and protected with but skin-deep Marxism, the gentlemen throw overboard even the fundamental principle uttered by Engels to the effect that taxes are to the bourgeois of much, but to the working class of very little importance, seeing that what the workingman pays in taxes goes in the long run into the cost of production of labor-power, and MUST BE BORNE BY THE CAPITALIST.

A discussion with people animated so little by the intellectual force or rectitude would seem a waste of time. But not so. It has served to emphasize and re-demonstrate the correctness of the Party's attitude on the question of taxation and, at least, to weaken, if not break down, the evil effect upon the movement that the said scandalous article of March 7 would otherwise have had.

As to the other issues raised by the discussion: the "Volkszeitung's" impudence of presuming to set itself above the Party; its defiance of the Party's official declarations, and, thereby of its own constitution; its suppression of the Party's voice;—these and many other kindred issues belong under a different head and will be duly treated in the fullness of time.

A Dread Monster.

(Written for THE PEOPLE by E. J. Riden, Wausau, Wis.)

There is a mighty monster That infests this land of ours,— A horrid, heartless monster Who holds us in his power.

He wants the earth and heavens, And all that they contain, For plunder is his passion And sorrowful his reign.

He attacks the weak and helpless And makes their hearts to bleed, He robs the poor and needy To satisfy his greed.

All that the earth produces For man's happiness and ease, He gets a corner on it And then begins to squeeze.

And still he keeps on squeezing The poor out of their share, Until to suicide or crime They're driven by despair.

By all that's true and holy, By all that's good and great This monster must be throttled Before it is too late.

For virtue is his plighting Religion is his jest, They too, must serve his purpose Along with all the rest.

Oh, erstwhile happy nation, Calamity shall speed, To hasten thy destruction While a prey to Mammon's greed.

Then, friends, all to the rescue! His power you can resist, Else he will overwhelm us, The Dread Monopolist.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan—The Socialists make a great mistake in agitating so much among the workingmen and so little among the rich people.

Uncle Sam—In how far is that a mistake?

B. J.—Because there are more capitalists among the workingmen than among the capitalists.

U. S.—Hey? Say that again.

B. J.—You don't believe it?

U. S.—What?

B. J.—That there are piles of capitalists among the workingmen.

U. S.—No; I don't believe it. I can no more believe it than I can believe that a Zulu can be a man of Caucasian race.

B. J.—Now, there you have it. Your answer helps me to make clear my point. You Socialists draw the lines too sharp; you don't allow anything for sentiment, and what that implies.

U. S.—Make your point.

B. J.—I claim that a capitalist is a man who has the vicious instinct of a bloodsucker, a man who is anxious to live at the expense of others. That's what I call a capitalist. And for that reason I say there are lots of workingmen who are capitalists. The man who would live upon others is to all intents and purposes a capitalist.

U. S.—And the man who will make such a statement is to all intents and purposes a muddlehead.

B. J.—Muddlehead, yourself!

U. S.—Would you not like to be a millionaire?

B. J.—Of course I would; think of all the good time I would have!

U. S.—And why don't you take that good time?

B. J.—How can I talk! How can I TAKE that good time if I have not the money of a millionaire?

U. S.—But a millionaire is a man who would like to be one. The man who would like to take a good time is to all intents and purposes a millionaire.

B. J.—Nonsense, my wishing to be a millionaire don't make me one; to be one I must own a million dollars.

U. S.—It follows that sentiment has nothing to do with cases?

B. J.—Nothing whatever.

U. S.—Nothing short of the hard material cash or its equivalent will make a man a millionaire?

B. J.—Nothing short of that; any fool can see that.

U. S.—And yet it seems that any fool, you among them, can't see that nothing short of capital can make a man a capitalist.

B. J.—But if—

U. S.—A capitalist is a man who lives on the sweat of the brow of others, eh?

B. J.—Certainly.

U. S.—He likes that—

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—As much as you would like the good time that a million dollars would give you?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Could you have that good time without the million?

B. J.—No.

U. S.—No more can one live on the sweat of the brow of others unless he owns the necessary capital. To be a millionaire, one must have the million; to be a capitalist, you must have the capital.

B. J.—That's all right. But what I mean is that the Socialists should spend more time in improving the moral sense of the workmen. Instead of spending so much time in showing them how the capitalist skins them, they should be lectured upon the wickedness of skinning.

U. S.—What good will that alone do them?

B. J.—It will make Socialists out of them—

U. S.—There you give me the proof of how necessary it is to stick to the right terminology in order to arrive at the right tactics. Go about lecturing upon the wickedness of skinning without showing how it is that the skinning is done, and you will fall to show your hearers how to get out of this wicked system of skinning. You will be looked upon as a pretty and entertaining talker, but you won't get your hearers one inch nearer to their emancipation. Leave the Socialists alone for knowing what they are about.

LECTURES.

MARTHA M. AVERY, Sunday, May 28, Hill Building, Union square, Somerville, Mass.

PHILIP JACKSON, "Mission of the Socialist Labor Party," Sunday, May 28, New Era Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.

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